

HART-TEETER
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1002 Respondents
Dates: April 30 - May 3, 1994

47 Male
53 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4047
NBC News/WSJ
May 1994

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[6]	[8]	[9]	[12]		[13]	[14]
7		[10]			1	4
1		[11]				
		1				

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who has had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who has had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	7	[15]
	8	1
Not registered.....	2	
	1	
Not sure.....	1	

- 2a. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>5/94</u>		<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	
Right direction..	30		33	39	<u>3</u> 35	<u>3</u> 27	33	27	27	[16]
Wrong track.....	50	CONTINUE	47	42	42	54	49	55	56	1

Mixed (VOL)....	13	14	13	16	14	12	13	10
Not sure.....	7	6	6	7	5	6	5	7
SKIP TO Q.3.								
		<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
					<u>2</u>			
		37	43	47	45	15	34	
		44	35	27	32	71	48	
		11	11	14	11	9	13	
		8	11	12	12	5	5	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO EXPRESSED AN OPINION IN Q.2a.)

2b. Why do you feel that way about the direction of the nation?

(PROBE:) What are some of the things that make you think the nation is (headed in the right direction/off on the wrong track)? **(IF RESPONDENT SAID "MIXED" IN Q.2a., ASK BOTH PROBES.)**

(PROBE:) What factors do you think are most responsible for current conditions in America today? **[17-24]**

Net Reasons The Nation Is Headed In The Right Direction	30%	Net Reasons The Nation Is Headed Off On The Wrong Track	66%
Economy is improving	8	Crime, drugs	17
President Clinton is doing a good job, trying his best	7	Too much involvement in foreign countries; too much emphasis on foreign policy	8
President is trying to do something about the health care problem	6	Disagree with health care plan, concerned about health care reform	8
More jobs are available, unemployment figures are dropping	4	Lack of morals, lack of religious beliefs	8
Things are not that bad; things are improving, are getting better	3	Unemployment is too high	7
-----		Don't know; no response	9

(ASK EVERYONE.)

3. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and institutions. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neu-tral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton							
May 1994.....	19	29	18	16	17	1	[25]
March 1994.....	18	29	19	16	17	1	
January 1994.....	20	35	17	14	14	-	
December 1993.....	22	33	15	15	14	1	
November 1993.....	24	30	14	14	16	2	
October 1993.....	16	30	18	16	19	1	
September 1993.....	18	32	15	17	17	1	
July 1993.....	15	31	17	16	20	1	

June 1993.....	16	28	15	17	23	1	
April 1993.....	25	27	18	13	16	1	
March 1993.....	26	30	15	12	14	3	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1992.....	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
The United Nations							
May 1994.....	12	36	24	15	7	6	[26]
March 1994.....	13	35	27	14	7	4	
Q.3. (cont'd)							

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewha t Positive</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewha t Negative</u>	<u>Very Negativ e</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Dan Quayle							
May 1994.....	9	19	31	19	15	7	[27]
October 1993.....	8	16	28	20	24	4	
June 1993.....	7	19	26	20	24	4	
October 1992.....	7	19	16	22	34	2	
May 1992.....	5	18	28	21	23	5	
October 1991.....	10	25	28	15	18	4	
October 1990.....	5	22	28	19	19	7	
November 1989.....	7	22	26	17	21	7	
Warren Christopher							
May 1994.....	5	16	25	10	4	40	[28]
October 1993*.....	4	14	25	7	5	45	
Bob Dole							
May 1994.....	16	29	19	14	11	11	[29]
March 1994.....	12	24	24	15	13	12	
January 1994.....	13	29	21	14	9	14	
October 1993.....	12	26	24	14	10	14	
September 1993.....	13	25	24	14	10	14	
July 1993.....	10	22	25	14	13	16	
June 1993.....	15	25	24	12	10	14	
Howard Stern							
May 1994.....	4	8	14	10	30	34	[30]
Nelson Mandela							
May 1994.....	26	27	19	8	8	12	[31]
Hillary Rodham Clinton							
May 1994.....	22	25	16	16	19	2	[32]
March 1994.....	22	25	19	13	20	1	
January 1994.....	24	27	15	14	18	2	
December 1993.....	26	27	17	11	17	2	
October 1993.....	22	26	17	14	19	2	
September 1993.....	20	26	21	13	17	3	
July 1993.....	20	30	19	12	17	2	
June 1993.....	21	26	18	12	19	4	
April 1993.....	25	28	18	12	14	3	
March 1993.....	25	29	18	11	12	5	
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
December 1992.....	21	25	25	8	11	10	

* Asked of one-half the

(BOTH FORMS.)

4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president? **(IF "APPROVE" OR "DISAPPROVE", ASK:)** Do you (approve/disapprove) strongly, or somewhat?*

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Total Approve.....	57	55	60	56	47	50	45	41	52	57	51	[33]
Approve strongly.....	20		4	3		3	3	3	3			1
Approve somewhat.....	37											
Total Disapprove.....	37	36	31	33	43	39	45	50	34	26	16	
Disapprove somewhat.....	17											
Disapprove strongly.....	20											
Not sure.....	6	9	9	11	10	11	10	9	14	17	33	

(FORM A)

4b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93*</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	43	47	50	48	40	42	40	33	45	52	[34]
Disapprove.....	46	43	39	39	50	48	51	56	40	28	
Not sure.....	11	10	11	13	10	10	9	11	15	20	

(FORM A)

4c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	36	47	53	45	33	47	50	38	47	47	[35]
Disapprove.....	51	39	31	40	58	34	36	43	30	22	1
Not sure.....	13	14	16	15	9	19	14	19	23	31	

* Asked of one-half

(FORM B)

4d. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
Approve.....	32	31	33	30	29	24	27	27	27	15	26	28	22	[36]
Disapprove.....	56	58	54	56	60	65	60	61	56	78	62	63	69	1
Not sure.....	12	11	13	14	11	11	13	12	17	7	12	9	9	

*Asked only of

- 4e. Looking ahead to this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>10/92*</u>	<u>9/92*</u>	<u>7/92*</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	
Reelect representative.....	34	35	34	37	30	31	31	27	33	[37]
Give new person a chance...	50	47	52	47	55	56	56	62	57	
Not sure.....	16	18	14	16	15	13	13	11	10	
		<u>2/92*</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91*</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>			
		*	*	*	*	*	*			
		37	42	35	40	39	41			
		52	48	52	48	48	36			
		11	10	13	12	13	23			

*Asked only of registered

(FORM A)

- 5a. Please tell me which one of the following statements comes closest to your point of view on Bill Clinton's priorities as president. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE FIRST TWO, BUT READ STATEMENT "C" LAST.)**

STATEMENT A: Bill Clinton is spending too much time and attention on foreign affairs and not paying enough attention to domestic goals.

OR

STATEMENT B: Bill Clinton is spending too much time and attention on domestic goals and not paying enough attention to foreign affairs.

OR

STATEMENT C: Bill Clinton has attained the right balance between foreign affairs and domestic goals.

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>1/93*</u>	
Statement A/Too much foreign/not enough domestic.....	38	36	47	7	[38]
Statement B/Too much domestic/not enough foreign.....	19	17	14	30	
Statement C/Right balance.....	29	39	33	58	
None of the above (VOL).....	9	4	NA	NA	
Not sure.....	5	4	6	5	

(FORM B)

- 5b. Please tell me which you think is the greatest danger to America today: **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE.)**

America will pay too much attention to foreign affairs and not pay enough attention to problems here in the U.S.

OR

America will pay too much attention to problems in the U.S. and not pay enough attention to foreign affairs.

Too much foreign/not enough domestic.....	75	[39]
Too much domestic/not enough foreign.....	13	
Neither (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	5	

- 5c. Do you believe that Hillary Rodham Clinton has the right amount of influence in the Clinton Administration, too much influence, or not enough influence in the Clinton Administration?

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
Right amount.....	38	46	50	[40]
Too much influence.....	51	38	35	
Not enough influence.....	6	7	6	
Not sure.....	5	9	9	

- 5d. How confident are you that Bill Clinton has the right set of personal characteristics to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>11/1/92</u> *	<u>10/92*</u>	<u>9/92*</u>	
Extremely confident.....	12	11	16	13	11	14	9	[41]
Quite confident.....	22	24	31	25	21	27	23	
Only somewhat confident...	39	38	37	41	34	30	37	
Not at all confident.....	25	25	13	19	31	26	28	
Not sure.....	2	2	3	2	3	3	3	

- 5e. Now, I would like to read you a list of qualities by which a president might be judged. For each item, I would like you to tell me how you would rate Bill Clinton on that quality using a scale from 1 to 5, on which a "5" means you would give him a very good rating, a "1" means you would give him a very poor rating, and a "3" means you would give him a mixed rating. You can use any number between 1 and 5, depending on how strongly you feel.

(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) When it comes to (READ ITEM), how would you rate Bill Clinton, using a five-point scale, on which a "5" means a very good rating, a "1" means a very poor rating, and a "3" means a mixed rating? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Very Good		Mixed		Very Poor	Not Sure	
	5	4	3	2	1	6	
Serving as commander-in-chief							
May 1994.....	13	19	37	13	17	1	[42]
January 1994*.....	17	23	29	13	16	2	
October 1993*.....	14	18	32	16	19	1	
January 1993*.....	20	23	39	8	8	2	
Staying in touch with the American people							
May 1994.....	29	29	23	11	7	1	[43]
January 1994*.....	34	33	19	8	5	1	
October 1993*.....	28	29	25	11	7	-	
June 1993*.....	25	25	29	10	10	1	
January 1993*.....	46	27	20	4	2	1	
His ethical and moral values							
May 1994.....	13	19	29	15	21	3	[44]
January 1994.....	13	20	35	13	17	2	
October 1993*.....	19	24	30	11	15	1	
January 1993*.....	23	27	29	12	8	1	
Working with Congress							
May 1994.....	14	27	39	11	5	4	[45]
January 1994*.....	12	32	41	7	5	3	
December 1993*.....	4	12	44	29	9	2	
October 1993*.....	12	29	41	12	4	2	
June 1993*.....	5	18	45	16	12	4	
January 1993*.....	24	32	31	5	2	6	
Telling the truth							
May 1994.....	11	17	28	16	24	4	[46]
Having the right policies for the country							
May 1994.....	13	21	31	18	15	2	[47]
October 1993*.....	7	18	37	17	19	2	
* Asked of one-half the respondents.							

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 6a. Which one of the following six issues do you think needs the greatest attention from the federal government at the present time? **(READ CHOICES, ROTATING ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	5/94	3/94	
A) Dealing with international conflicts.....	4	2	[48]
B) Improving the economy.....	26	25	
C) Combating street crime and violence.....	34	31	
D) Reforming the welfare system.....	12	14	
E) Dealing with the unfair trade practices of foreign countries.....	4	4	
F) Reforming the health care system.....	10	14	
All equally (VOL).....	8	7	
None of these (VOL).....	1	2	
Not sure	1	1	

(FORM B)

- 6b. At the end of 1994, which one of the following would you most like to be able to say about the United States that cannot be said now? **(READ LIST. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

A) Economic conditions are good, and layoffs have decreased.....	3	[49]
B) The U.S. brought an end to the bloodshed in Bosnia....	5	
	1	
C) A comprehensive crime bill was enacted.....	1	
	2	
D) Universal health coverage was passed.....	5	
	2	
	1	
All equally (VOL).....	4	
None of these (VOL).....	2	
Not sure	2	

(BOTH FORMS.)

- 7a. Do you believe that President Clinton committed financial wrongdoing in the matter of the Whitewater Development Corporation in Arkansas, or do you believe that the issue is just being used against him for political purposes? If you feel that you do not know enough about the issue to have an opinion, please just say so.

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	
President Clinton committed financial wrongdoing.....	23	16	[50]
Issue is just being used for political purposes.....	42	34	
Don't know enough to say.....	25	41	
Both, Clinton did wrong, <u>and</u> issue is being used for political purposes (VOL).....	5	4	
Not sure.....	5	5	

- 7b. Do you think President Clinton is telling the truth or not telling the truth about his personal finances and his involvement in the Whitewater affair?

President Clinton is telling the truth.....	4	[51]
	3	
President Clinton is not telling the truth.....	3	
	4	
Not sure.....	2	
	3	

- 7c. And do you think Hillary Rodham Clinton is telling the truth or not telling the truth about her personal finances and her involvement in the Whitewater affair?

Hillary Rodham Clinton is telling the truth.....	3	[52]
	9	
Hillary Rodham Clinton is not telling the truth.....	4	
	1	
Not sure.....	2	
	0	

- 7d. Which one of the following statements do you think is the best explanation of why the Whitewater issue continues to be in the news? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)**

Statement A: The Clintons' opponents are using the issue for political purposes.

Statement B: The press is always interested in reporting about a scandal.

OR

Statement C: The White House has handled the issue poorly.

Statement A/opponents using issue for political purposes.....	22	[53]
Statement B/press always interested in reporting a scandal.....	37]
Statement C/White House handled issue poorly.....	26	
Some of each (VOL).....	11	
Other (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	3	

- 7e. The White House has released information showing that Hillary Rodham Clinton turned a one-thousand-dollar investment in the commodities market into earnings of one hundred thousand dollars in about one year's time, starting in 1978. Do you think that her profit was because of good advice and good timing, or do you think that she received preferential treatment in making these trades?

Good advice and timing.....	3	[54]
Preferential treatment.....	4	
Not sure.....	5	
	0	
	1	
	6	

- 8a. Now, I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	
Inflation.....	8	6	5	6	5	8	8	6	[55]
Unemployment.....	35	33	37	40	43	40	37	40]
Interest rates.....	4	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	
The federal budget deficit.....	24	33	31	25	26	26	31	28	
Federal taxes.....	12	10	8	11	12	11	10	11	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	9	9	9	7	6	8	6	8	
All equally important (VOL)....	6	5	5	7	4	4	4	4	
None is important (VOL).....	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	
Not sure.....	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	

<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>
4	7	7	6	7	11
44	44	44	46	46	37
2	2	2	3	2	3
28	28	28	24	22	21
9	7	5	5	5	7
7	8	8	10	8	8

5	3	5	5	8	10
-	-	-	-	-	-
1	1	1	1	2	3

- 8b. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	5/94	3/9	1/94	12/9	10/9	9/9	7/9	6/9	4/9	3/9	1/9	12/9	5/92	9/9	
Will get better.....	27	4	44	43	21	23	20	23	33	39	50	53	32	31	[56]
Will get worse.....	21	16	16	19	27	24	29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24	
Will stay about the same.....	49	52	36	34	50	51	48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40	
Not sure.....	3	3	4	4	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5	

(FORM A)

- 8c. And during the next year, do you think interest rates will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?

	5/94	3/94	
Will increase.....	71	65	[57]
Will decrease.....	4	5	
Will stay about the same.....	21	27	
Not sure.....	4	3	

(FORM B)

- 8d. During the next year, do you think inflation will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?

	5/94	3/94	
Will increase.....	50	45	[58]
Will decrease.....	6	6	
Will stay about the same.....	42	46	
Not sure.....	2	3	

- 9a. Did you pay more in federal income taxes, less, or about the same in federal income taxes this year as you did last year?

More than last year.....	4	[59]
	4	
Less than last year.....	1	
	1	
About the same.....	3	
	8	
Not sure.....	7	

- 9b. Do you approve or disapprove of the Federal Reserve Board's policy of increasing short-term interest rates in order to prevent an increase in inflation?

Approve.....	4	[60]
	1	
Disapprove.....	3	
	5	
Don't know enough to say (VOL).....	1	
	7	
Not sure.....	7	

- 9c. Do you believe that the jobs now being created in the U.S. economy are mainly high-paying jobs or mainly low-paying jobs?

Mainly high-paying jobs.....	13	[61]
Mainly low-paying jobs.....	72	1
Mixed (VOL).....	4	
Jobs are not being created (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	9	

- 10a. Which one of the following proposals for welfare reform would you prefer? **(ROTATE ORDER OF STATEMENTS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Proposal A: A proposal that would provide job training for welfare recipients, and that would end their benefits after two years if they had not found a job, whether or not there were jobs available at that time.

OR

Proposal B: A proposal that would provide job training for welfare recipients, and that would require them to take a job whenever one became available, but no one would lose benefits without being offered a job.

Proposal A/lose benefits after two years.....	3	[62]
	6	
Proposal B/lose benefits when job is available.....	5	
	9	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	2	

- 10b. Do you favor or oppose a proposal that would end welfare benefits for unmarried mothers under age 21, and would turn the savings over to the states for programs to care for children, so there will not be any economic benefit to unmarried young women for having children?

Favor.....	5	[63]
	5	
Oppose.....	3	
	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about crime.

- 11a. During the past six months, have you changed any part of your daily routine to reduce the risk of being a victim of crime?

Have changed daily routine.....	4	[64]
	0	
Have <u>not</u> changed daily routine.....	6	
	0	
Not sure.....	-	

- 11b. Which one of the following do you think would be more effective in reducing crime--more education and training to create better economic opportunities, or better law enforcement and stricter punishment?

More education and training to create better economic opportunities.....	29	[65]
Better law enforcement and stricter punishment.....	58	
Some of both (VOL).....	10	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

- 12a. Which one of the following do you think would be the more effective way to reduce crime? **(DO NOT ROTATE STATEMENTS.)**

Statement A: Making sure every offender serves time in prison, even if it means shorter sentences for all criminals.

OR

Statement B: Making sure violent criminals serve long terms in prison, even if it means probation or early parole for nonviolent offenders.

Statement A/Every offender serves time, even if shorter sentences.....	1 2	[66]
Statement B/Long terms for violent criminals, even if probation/parole for nonviolent offenders.....	7 8	
Not sure.....	1 0	

- 12b. Now I would like to read you some actions that have been proposed as ways to combat violent crime. For each one, please tell me how effective you think it would be in reducing crime in the United States--very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not at all effective. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** How effective would **(READ ITEM)** be in reducing crime in the United States--very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not at all effective? **(START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Very Effectiv e	Somewha t Effective	Not Very Effectiv e	Not At All Effectiv e	Not Sure	
(FORM A--NEXT FIVE ITEMS)	36	45	12	6	1	[67]
Establishing training programs to teach teenagers marketable skills like computing.....						
A ban on selected semiautomatic assault weapons.....	47	23	10	18	2	[68]
Holding parents responsible for crimes committed by their children.....	38	33	12	14	3	[69]
Establishing recreational programs to keep teenagers off the streets at night.....	49	38	6	6	1	[70]
Placing one hundred thousand more police officers on the streets throughout the U.S.....	39	41	12	7	1	[71]
(FORM B--NEXT FIVE ITEMS)	45	45	7	3	-	[72]
Neighborhood watch programs.....						
Truth-in-sentencing laws to ensure that violent felons serve at least eighty-five percent of their sentences.....	59	29	6	3	3	[73]
Drug treatment in prison.....	37	35	11	11	6	[74]
Mandating life sentences without parole for criminals convicted of three violent felonies.....	65	20	6	5	4	[75]
Building more prisons.....	36	30	17	14	3	[76]

(BOTH FORMS.)

- 12c. Based on what you have read or heard about the crime bill passed by the House of Representatives, how effective do you think it will be in reducing crime--very effective, fairly effective, just somewhat effective, or not at all effective? If you have not heard enough about the crime bill to have an opinion, please just say so.

Very effective.....	5	[77]
Fairly effective.....	1	
Just somewhat effective.....	3	
Not at all effective.....	1	
Haven't heard enough to say.....	3	
Not sure.....	3	

- 12d. When it comes to dealing with crime, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither?

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	
Democratic Party.....	9	20	[78]
Republican Party.....	20	27	
Both about the same.....	52	22	
Neither.....	15	24	
Not sure.....	4	7	

- 12e. As you may have heard, an American teenager in Singapore has been sentenced to six lashes with a cane for vandalism. This punishment, which will be administered by someone who is highly trained in the martial arts, is likely to leave this teenager with permanent physical and emotional scars. Do you think this punishment is **(ROTATE:)** too harsh considering the crime, or acceptable and appropriate?

Too harsh.....	4	[79]
Acceptable and appropriate.....	5	
Not sure.....	6	

Now, I would like to turn to the topic of health care.

- 13a. From what you have heard or read, do you favor or oppose President Clinton's health care program?

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/22/93</u>	
Favor.....	36	37	42	47	47	51	[80]
Oppose.....	44	45	39	32	37	18	1
Need to know more (VOL).....	14	12	12	15	12	17	
Not sure.....	6	6	7	6	4	14	

13b. Do you think Congress should pass a health care reform bill this year, or continue to debate the issue and act next year?

Congress should pass bill this year.....	3	[81]
	4	
Congress should debate and act next	5	
year.....	8	
Not sure.....	8	

- 13c. When it comes to dealing with health care, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither?

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>7/92*</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	<u>10/91</u> *	
Democratic Party.....	26	44	57	44	48	46	[82]
Republican Party.....	17	16	9	10	12	12	
Both about the same.....	38	16	17	21	17	18	
Neither.....	15	18	12	19	18	16	
Not sure.....	4	6	5	6	5	8	

* Asked only of registered voters.

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about international trade.

- 14a. Which one of the following statements comes closer to your point of view on our relationship with China?

Statement A: We should maintain good trade relations with China, despite disagreements we might have with its human rights policies.

OR

Statement B: We should demand that China improve its human rights policies if China wants to continue to enjoy its current trade status with the United States.

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94*</u>	<u>12/93</u>	
Statement A/Maintain good trade relations.....	40	31	29	[83]
Statement B/Demand improved human rights policies.....	51	61	65	
Neither (VOL).....	3	2	2	
Not sure.....	6	6	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 14b. To which region do you think the United States should look for more profitable trade relations in the future--toward Europe or toward Asia?

Toward Europe.....	4	[84]
	4	
Toward Asia.....	3	
	8	
Both equally (VOL).....	5	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	1	
	2	

- 14c. In international trade and the battle for global markets, which one of the following countries do you consider America's bigger competitor--Japan or Germany?

Japan.....	8	[85]
	3	
Germany.....	1	
	2	
Both equally (VOL).....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	3	

Now, some other questions on foreign policy.

15a. Which one of the following do you think is the most serious foreign policy issue facing the United States today? **(ROTATE ORDER. RECORD RESPONSE UNDER Q.15a. BELOW.)**

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOOSE A HIGHEST PRIORITY IN Q.15a.)

15b. And which one of these issues is the second most serious policy issue? **(READ LIST AGAIN, EXCLUDING ANSWER GIVEN IN Q.15a. RECORD UNDER COLUMN Q.15b. ABOVE.)**

Q.15				
	<u>5/94</u>		<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>
The war between Bosnia and Serbia.....	21		15	14 [86]
Instability in Russia and the other countries that were part of the Soviet Union.....	18		30	21
The refusal of Haiti's military to give power back to the democratically elected government.....	3	CONTINUE	4	4
North Korea's development of a nuclear weapon..	25		23	31
U.S. relations with China.....	3		NA	NA
The peace agreement between Israel and the Arabs.....	14		15	13
All equally (VOL).....	8	SKIP TO Q.16.	5	8
None of these (VOL).....	1		1	2
Not sure.....	7		7	7

Combined				
	<u>5/94</u>		<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>
The war between Bosnia and Serbia.....	38		31	28 [87]
Instability in Russia and the other countries that were part of the Soviet Union.....	35		54	40
The refusal of Haiti's military to give power back to the democratically elected government.....	8		9	11
North Korea's development of a nuclear weapon.....	44		43	52
U.S. relations with China.....	12		NA	NA
The peace agreement between Israel and the Arabs.....	28		35	32
All equally (VOL).....	8		5	8
None of these (VOL).....	1		1	2
Not sure most serious policy issue.....	7		7	7
Not sure second most serious policy issue.....	3		2	3

(ASK EVERYONE.)

16. For each of the following, please tell me how well you think Bill Clinton has handled the situation--very well, somewhat well, not very well, or not at all well. **(READ EACH ITEM, AND ASK:)** Has Bill Clinton handled this situation very well, somewhat well, not very well, or not at all well? **(ROTATE ORDER.)**

	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Somewha t Well</u>	<u>Not Very Well</u>	<u>Not At All Well</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
The civil war in Bosnia.....	8	46	25	16	5	[88]
Relations with China.....	8	55	17	8	12	[89]
Trade relations with Japan.....	11	50	21	10	8	[90]
Tension between North Korea and South Korea....	8	38	24	10	20	[91]
Relations with Russia.....	22	54	12	5	7	[92]
The civil war in Rwanda.....	4	27	16	15	38	[93]

(FORM A)

- 17a. Do you think that American military forces should be used for humanitarian purposes, even if our own national interests are not at stake, or should the American military be used only when our own national interests are at stake?

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>9/93</u>	
Military should be used for humanitarian purposes.....	29	42	[94]
Military should be used only when national interests are at stake.....	59	52	
Not sure.....	12	6	

(FORM B)

- 17b. Do you think that American military forces should be used for peacekeeping purposes, even if our own national interests are not at stake, or should the American military be used only when our own national interests are at stake?

Military should be used for peacekeeping purposes.....	3	[95]
	3	
Military should be used only when national interests are at stake.....	6	
	2	
Not sure.....	5	

(BOTH FORMS.)

18. Thinking about three of the former Yugoslavian nations who are currently at war, Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia, do you think one is more responsible than the others for the fighting, or do you think all the warring nations are equally responsible? **(IF RESPONDENT SAYS ONE IS MORE RESPONSIBLE, ASK:)** Which nation do you think is more responsible--**(ROTATE)** Serbia, Croatia, or Bosnia?

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>4/93*</u>	
Serbia more responsible.....	17	16	[96]
Croatia more responsible.....	1	1	
Bosnia more responsible.....	3	3	
All equally responsible.....	66	58	
None is responsible (VOL).....	-	1	
Not sure.....	13	21	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 19a. Do you favor or oppose the United States' participation in air strikes along with its European allies to stop Serbian fighters from attacking Bosnian cities that the United Nations has declared to be safe havens?

Favor.....	6	[97]
	4	
Oppose.....	2	
	6	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

- 19b. Lifting the ban on arms sales to the former Yugoslavia would allow the Bosnians to purchase weapons to defend themselves against the Serbians, but the Russians and our European allies oppose lifting this ban. Do you favor or oppose lifting this ban?

Favor.....	4	[98]
	5	
Oppose.....	3	
	9	
Not sure.....	1	
	6	

20. Do you believe that South Africa will or will not succeed in establishing a democratic system of government?

Will succeed.....	6	[99]
	1	
Will not succeed....	2	
	6	
Not sure.....	1	
	3	

- 21a. If North Korea does not allow its nuclear production facilities to be inspected to confirm whether it is building a nuclear bomb, would you would favor or oppose imposing economic sanctions on North Korea?

	<u>5/94</u>	<u>1/94*</u>	
Favor.....	78	69	[100]
			1
Oppose.....	17	22	
Not sure.....	5	9	

- 21b. If North Korea still does not allow its nuclear production facilities to be inspected after we have imposed economic sanctions, would you would favor or oppose launching a military strike to destroy North Korea's ability to build a nuclear bomb?

Favor.....	4	[101]
	1	1
Oppose.....	4	
	5	
Not sure.....	1	
	4	

(FORM A)

- 22a. Which one of the following do you think will be regarded by history as the most important president of this generation? **(READ LIST. ROTATE ORDER. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)**

Richard Nixon.....	30	[102]
Gerald Ford.....	-	
Jimmy Carter.....	6	
Ronald Reagan.....	25	
George Bush.....	12	
Bill Clinton.....	12	
All equally (VOL).....	2	
None (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	9	

(FORM B)

- 22b. Which one of the following do you think will be regarded by history as the most important president of this generation? **(READ LIST. ROTATE ORDER. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)**

John Kennedy.....	40	[103]
Lyndon Johnson.....	3	
Richard Nixon.....	20	
Gerald Ford.....	-	
Jimmy Carter.....	2	
Ronald Reagan.....	14	
George Bush.....	7	
Bill Clinton.....	6	
All equally (VOL).....	1	
None (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	5	

(BOTH FORMS.)

- 22c. When you think back to the high and low points of his term in office, do you think on the whole that it was good for America or bad for America that Richard Nixon served as president?

Good for America.....	7	[104]
	3]
Bad for America.....	1	
	6	
Some of both (VOL).....	4	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	6	

23. Finally, which type of underwear do you think is more appropriate for a president to wear--boxer shorts or briefs?

Boxer shorts.....	2	[105]
	7]
Briefs.....	1	
	9	
Does not matter (VOL).....	3	
	8	
Depends on gender of president (VOL)	3	
Not sure.....	1	
	3	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

Didn't vote.....	2	[106]
	0	
Voted for George Bush.....	3	
	1	
Voted for Bill Clinton.....	3	
	2	
Voted for Ross Perot.....	1	
	0	
Other candidate (VOL).....	-	
Too young (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	6	

- F2a. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	5	[107]
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	8	
Moderate.....	2	
	2	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	4	
Very conservative.....	1	
	1	
Views cannot be described in those	1	
terms.....	6	
Not sure.....	4	

- F2b. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or a not very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	[108]
	5	
Not strong Democrat.....	1	
	4	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	8	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	9	
Independent/lean Republican.....	9	
Not strong Republican.....	1	
	4	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	3	
Other.....	4	
Refused.....	1	
Don't know/nothing.....	3	

- F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	2	[109]
Some high school.....	1	
	0	
High school graduate.....	3	
	4	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	6	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	9	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	1	
	6	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's	7	
degree.....		
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

- F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	45-49.....	9	[110]
	1			
25-29.....	1	50-54.....	7	
	0			
30-34.....	1	55-59.....	6	
	0			
35-39.....	1	60-64.....	7	
	1			
40-44.....	9	65 and over.....	18	
		Refused.....	2	

F5. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

	2	[111]
Professional/manager.....	3	
White collar worker.....	1	
	6	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	3	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	3	
Homemaker.....	8	
Retired.....	2	
	0	
Unemployed.....	4	
Never worked/not sure.....	2	

(ASK OF ALL WOMEN.)

F6. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	2	[112]
	8	
Do not work outside the home.....	2	
	2	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F7. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	[113]
	4	
Catholic.....	2	
	9	
Jewish.....	2	
Other.....	8	
None.....	5	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F8. How would you describe the area in which you live--a large city, a medium to small city, a suburb near a city, a small town that is not near a city, or a rural or country area?

Large city.....	2	[114]
	2	
Medium to small city.....	2	
	5	
Suburb near a city.....	2	
	1	
Small town that is not near a city...	1	
	6	
Rural or country area.....	1	
	5	
Not sure.....	1	

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	79	[115]
Black.....	11	
Hispanic.....	5	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	9	[116]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	7	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	3	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	4	
More than \$75,000.....	9	
Not sure/refused.....	7	